November 1953

Fellowship

THE POPES

"A single voice . . ."

20¢

The Vocabulary of Prejudice

by Felix S. Cohen

If you'll pardon the football talk, we'll say that we are "kicking off" quite an array of articles this month. Leading off is an exceptionally astute and readable attempt to get behind words to see what they tell us about ourselves, our prejudices and unconscious evaluations. Its author was, until his recent death, a lawyer with a long history of fighting for the rights of minority groups. . . . *Circular No. 25,* our cover story on Lillian and Bob Pope, is the story of Everyman who comes face to face with edicts of State that he is led to question and, ultimately, to refuse. . . . *The Novikoff Case,* Bernard O'Shea's report of the University of Vermont's recent investigational crisis, encourages us to think through again—as does the Pope story—the question of the meaning of loyalty. . . . Henry Hitt Crane's *Preaching Unpopular Truth,* first delivered at the Central Methodist Church in Detroit in 1943, retains its relevancy through the years. The "truth" that was unpopular ten years ago is still unpopular. We are happy to present a condensed version of that great sermon in these pages.

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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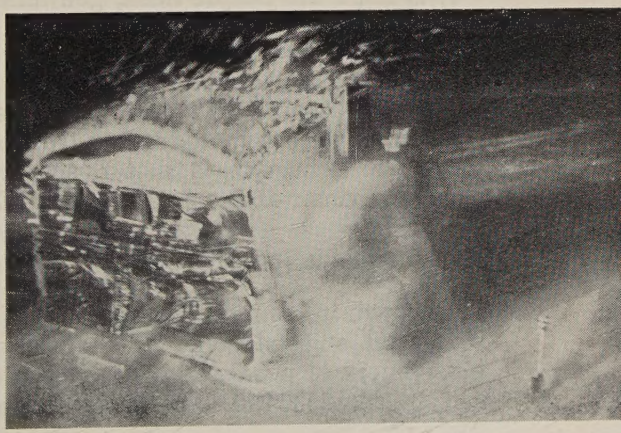
Information—I

High government officials and some leading editorialists have been having quite a to-do recently about whether or not to give the American public more information about the dangers of atomic war. "If the people only knew what we know," the suggestion goes, "they'd really snap into this business of civil defense."

We are all for information. The assumption of democracy, widely disregarded by even some of its most vehemently vocal defenders, is the ability of the people to make right decisions *if* they are given full and accurate information.

. . . . . .

More than a half-mile from the Yucca Flats test blast of an "old-fashioned" atomic bomb, this house was blown to kindling. Writes Hanson Baldwin, in the NEW YORK TIMES: *"The H-bomb is a weapon of a new order of magnitude . . . the device we tested at Eniwetok a year ago . . . literally blew a small island off the map of the Pacific."*



Wide World Photos

At the same time, we doubt that lack of information is the critical factor here. What can the government say that has not already been said? That atomic and hydrogen bombs are terrible? Hanson Baldwin wrote in the *New York Times* recently[1] what other men have said in other words:

"A small fighter plane carrying a single atomic bomb (of the so-called 'baby' or tactical type) can today wipe out a city; one small plane can do damage in one raid equivalent to that done by thousands of aircraft in hundreds of raids in World War II."

That the hydrogen bomb makes the outlook even worse? President Eisenhower in his Inaugural Address told the nation:

"Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet."

It is not information that is lacking, but hope and faith, and these cannot be restored by a statement from the White House. The people have been deluged with information; it is the information they have that dampens their enthusiasm for civil defense. If war does not come, then the drills and the shelters and the hiding in corners will have been wasted time. If war comes—if the little planes with their baby bombs set out to wipe out their whole cities—then the word defense becomes irrelevant to the point of blasphemy.

It is hope the people need, gentlemen, not information!

Desperate

"We need more civil defense, more continental defense and, since we are a God-fearing people, I hope, a prayer. I think the condition is that desperate."—Rep. W. Sterling Cole, chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

Information—II

Our own information service comes up with a few random data that suggest some of the reasons for the continued elusiveness of peace, and we offer them without comment:

". . . one $500,000 A-bomb in exchange for a $200,000,000

[1] October 11, 1953.

carrier may be a good economic bargain."—*Hanson Baldwin, New York Times.*

To train one bombardier requires 15,130 gallons of gasoline, 100 bombs, 265 hours of flight training, and 1,814 hours of ground school.—*From an ad of the American Machine and Foundry Company.*

The average annual per capita income for various parts of the world is: United States, $1,453; Western Europe, $473; Latin America, $152; Africa, $118; the Middle East, $89; South Asia, $55; Southeast Asia, $30.—*From Primer on World Politics, by Leonard Kenworthy, in The Progressive, August, 1953.*

Boner

From time to time it happens that those who deal with the problems of statecraft and war from a "practical" and nonpacifist angle, get caught in contradictions. Not often, however, do they perpetrate such a whopper as the *New York Times* pulled last September 22nd.

One column of the *Times'* august editorial page featured comment on the agreement then about to be completed with Franco Spain. On moral and political grounds the *Times* opposed it. However, since the Pentagon demanded the pact for security reasons—air and naval bases from which to fight Russia in case of war—"military necessity" had to have the right of way.

The *Times* concluded: "The matter therefore should be treated very much as we treat our military and economic arrangements with Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. We do not like communism, but we do not like fascism either. However, given sufficient reasons, we are willing to do business with both camps. It is important to realize that such arrangements are strictly practical, and one hopes strongly that nothing else is said in any documents exchanged between the two Governments."

This is clear and frank, though saddening for those who are concerned about such "moral and political considerations" as boosting fascist and communist regimes. But it was one of those experiences that remind one of the Second Psalm—"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the

Lord shall have them in derision"—to read in the very next column, in an exactly parallel position, an editorial dealing with another fascist regime and dictator, Peron of Argentina.

Here the *Times* is passionate in stressing moral and political considerations. "At the very time that Dr. Milton Eisenhower was being warmly embraced and lavishly entertained by General Peron many thousands of political prisoners were languishing in jail; freedom of press, speech and assembly had been abolished" and so on.

"This is the man and this is the regime which set itself out to please the United States!" And the conclusion, to stand beside the editorial hoping that sentimental and moral considerations could be excluded from practical dealings among democratic, fascist and communist governments? What else but: "It would seem that the United States could well ask General Peron to show Argentina's compatibility with democratic America . . . by deeds, not by embraces."

In addition to the Lord who sitteth in the heavens, no doubt both Franco and Peron as well as Malenkov and Mao have taken note of this expression of the standards of democratic and "Christian" governments and editors.

Quotes Worth Saving

"So soon as you have a military class, elections are of minor importance, because they determine the political policy, and back of that political policy is the constant pressure of men trained to arms, enormous bodies of disciplined men wondering if they are never going to be allowed to use their education and their skill and ravage some great people with the force of arms. That is the meaning of armaments."
—Woodrow Wilson

"Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that the community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose."
—Judge Learned Hand

The vocabulary of Prejudice

by Felix S. Cohen

FOR SOME YEARS I have been asking my students whether any of them had any prejudices, and I have not by this method of inquiry found anybody who had any prejudices and admitted to having them. I can think of only three possible explanations of this fact: (1) that my students have prejudices and know they have them, but are attempting to conceal this fact from me; (2) that my students are actually without prejudices; and (3) that it is normal for people not to see their own prejudices.

As my students are, generally speaking, of the highest moral character, I must reject this first alternative theory, that of conscious deception. And as my students are a fair cross-section of humanity, I must reject the second alternative possibility, that they are in fact unprejudiced. This leaves me with the third alternative, which I will accept as a working hypothesis, namely, that prejudice is something we are more apt to recognize in others than in ourselves.

In this respect prejudice is not unique. Take the relation, for instance, of fact to theory, of reverence to idolatry, of orthodoxy to heterodoxy. Generally, the theories we believe we call facts, and the facts we disbelieve we call theories; the attitude of respect for objects we respect we call reverence, and attitude of respect for objects which we hold in contempt we call idolatry; we are all familiar, of course, with the observation that orthodoxy is my doxy and heterodoxy is the other fellow's doxy.

As the field of racial and national feeling is generally conceded to be a field in which prejudice plays a major role, it may be helpful to examine some of the semantic data in this field to see what light such data may throw upon the problem of prejudice identification.

Perhaps the simplest way to recognize racial or national prejudice (in others) is to notice the ways in which people refer to other people. A person who uses the common contemptuous or patronizing terms, *nigger, coon, darkie, redskin, paleface, Chink, Jap, Wop, Spick, Dago, Hunkie, Kraut, halfbreed, Gook, Frog,* etc., may be quite unaware of the value-overtones of these terms, but the sensitive listener, especially if he has been sensitized in a particular direction by the repeated impact of these barbed words against himself, immediately spots the attitude of contempt that these terms convey.

"Innocent" Repetition

Of course, the user of such terms, when challenged, may reply that these are the terms in common usage in his group, and that he means no offense by them. He "didn't know they were loaded." Almost all of us repeatedly offend others by a word, a tone, or a gesture, without being aware of the fact. It is reasonable to suppos however, that one who takes u however innocently, from his en vironment various word usage that offend others also commonl take up, perhaps just as innocen ly, the implicit racial and nation attitudes of separateness, distanc and direction that prevail in tha environment.

Repelling Associations

Why, one may ask, should th use of these terms indicate an a titude of contempt? In some case this question is easily answere The name itself may indicate ass ciation with something mean revolting or contemptible in th experience of the name-caller, pe haps with something that typifi the basic avoidance reaction whic human and other animals exhib toward various forms of filth an danger.

Such is the case, for instanc with words associating the eatin habits of a racial group with som cheap or, to the word-user, bad smelling or repelling food, as f

Felix S. Cohen

The man who had "the finest grasp of the principles and details of law as affecting the Indians than any man ever had," is dead. Dr. Cohen, who died October 19 at the young age of 46, spent most of his allotted years doing good works for these abused American citizens. As Assistant Solicitor of the Department of the Interior during Roosevelt's administration, he was in a particularly strategic position to defend Indian claims and to press for reforms. It is said that he more than any other person is to be credited with getting the Indians the vote and with bringing them under social security protection. Other details of his full life can be found in **Who's Who.**

It is not surprising that this article of Dr. Cohen's, read first as a paper before the 13th Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion last fall, refers more than occasionally to the Indian question.

example, *Frog, Kraut, Spick,* or *Greaser.* In other words the name itself has a downward pointing direction, e.g. *coon* (likening a person to a sub-human animal) or *half-breed* (animals breed; humans marry and bear children) or *Siwash* (corruption of *sauvage,* French for savage).

The Irrelevant Adjective

In still other cases, the name identifies a human being with what he justly regards as a trivial aspect of himself, such as his skin color, as in the terms *Negro, darkie, redskin* or *paleface.* The moral tone of the designation is: the person so designated is peculiar; his outstanding characteristic is the abnormality of his skin. Such overtones may be created by repeated usage. The practice of most American newspapers of referring to arrested or suspected criminals as "Negro" or "alien," if they are either, but not as "white" or "seventh generation American" or "Protestant" or "freckled," is a technique that builds popular impressions as to the criminality of Negroes or aliens which are often far removed from the facts. What may be called "the technique of the irrelevant adjective" is a smear technique that is difficult to answer. When a New York Congressman objected to Congressman Rankin's referring to him as a "Jewish Congressman from New York," Congressman Rankin's answer was, in effect: "Well, you are Jewish, aren't you? Why be ashamed of it?"

The real issue here is not whether a racial or religious adjective is accurately descriptive of an individual, but whether the adjective is properly relevant to the context in which it is used. The adjective, Negro, may be perfectly relevant to a discussion of the medical effects of sunburn, and the adjective, Jewish, may be entirely relevant to a discussion of religious ritual. The relevance of these adjectives to a report of a crime wave, however, may depend upon the inarticulate premise that Negroes and Jews are especially disposed to criminal activity.

In some other instances, it is more difficult to understand why the racial designation should be felt as a term of disparagement. *Dago,* for instance, began apparently as a shortening of the honored Italian name, Diego, and *Wop* as an abbreviation of *guapo* (meaning handsome), yet both terms now carry definitely disparaging overtones, as do such originally harmless abbreviations as *Jap, Chink* and *Hunkie.*

Is there something about the sound of certain words that makes them carry overtones of contempt? Is it merely a coincidence that the English language uses one-syllable words ending in *-unk* to designate so many unhonored objects, *e.g.* bunk, chunk, dunk, drunk, flunk, junk, punk, sunk, skunk, stunk? Does a one-syllable word that can be uttered in less time than it takes to think, perhaps carry an overtone of contempt more easily than a polysyllabic word or a precise phrase, *e.g.* American of Chinese descent, instead of Chink?

What Words Reveal

Bertrand Russell has called attention to the possibility of conjugating value-weighted adjectives in such form as: (1) I am firm; (2) You are obstinate; (3) He is a pig-headed fool. More generally,

we can say that almost any human characteristic can be described either in honorific or pejorative terms. Consider, for example, how the choice between up-grading, down-grading and neutral word may reflect a speaker's value judgment as he describes a given human trait:

Up-grading	Neutral	Down-grading
Loyal	Obedient	Slavish
Devoted	Self-subordinating	Fanatical
Tolerant	Non-discriminating	Nigger-lover
Courageous	Bold	Reckless, foolhardy
Humanitarian	Idealistic	Do-gooder
Realistic	Suspicious	Cynical

More subtle than the choice of adjectives is the value orientation that is involved in the choice of a noun or verb to describe a given activity, operation or institution:

Up-grading	Neutral	Down-grading
Official	Office-holder	Bureaucrat
Statesman	Policy-maker	Politician
Investigator	Detective	Flatfoot
Business Executive	Employer	Boss
Financial Leader	Banker	Money-lender
Orator	Influential leader	Rabble-rouser

Peculiar individual tastes have relatively little permanent impact upon a social institution like language. But where many individuals in a society share a common value standard, it is natural for them to develop a common code. These codes are particularly important in a political campaign. Our candidates may *inspire;* they never *inflame,* as do the other fellow's candidates. Our candidates may *demonstrate;* only the opposing candidates *allege.* Our candidates may *clarify;* only the opponents will *admit error.* California's Governor Warren is reported to have made the sage observation: "When government does something for us that's social progress; when it does something for the other fellow that's socialism."

The language of colonial administrators offers a particularly impressive exhibition of double book keeping in the political field, for here professional and political value standards are largely reinforced by racial or national prides and prejudices. Even in the United States today, where at least lip service must be paid to the traditional American dislike for colonialism, a highly-developed syste

of administrative double-talk has made it possible for our colonial officials to profess a firm resolve to liquidate their jobs, and allow their so-called wards (for example, American Indians) full rights of citizenship, while in practice they press steadily for increased powers and increased appropriations.

Two Vocabularies

Under this system of double-talk, colonial officials *assist, counsel, serve* and *enlighten* natives, while other persons never assist, but only *abet,* never advise but only *incite,* never serve but only *interfere,* never enlighten but only *propagandize.* When native chiefs or councils make decisions for themselves, this is called *politics;* when decisions are made by colonial officials, this is called *policy-making.* When decisions are put into practice by the natives, this is called *manipulation;* when colonial officials handle such matters the preferred term is *administration.* When native property is handled so as to increase its productive yield, this is called *development* if colonial officials or their licensees are doing the handling, and *exploitation* if someone else is doing the handling. When natives take advice from the colonial officials, they are *cooperating;* when they take advice from others, they are *conspiring.*

By carefully keeping the two vocabularies distinct it is generally possible for a professionally trained group of administrators to persuade the public that pays its salaries that its "wards" are not yet ready to run their own businesses, manage their own lands, hold their own free elections, make their own contracts, or even decide when to go to bed and when to get up in the morning, and that increasing appropriations and powers should be granted to white officials to enable them to make such decisions for their non-white subjects. Any white man who speaks up in defense of native freedom is officially classified as either a *crank* or a *grafter* or a *paid agitator*—a *grafter* if the natives pay him for help, a *paid agitator* if white sympathizers pay him and a *crank* if nobody pays him.

Generally speaking, eulogistic or up-grading words may be classed as "we" words. They are words which we apply customarily to our own actions and to the actions of those for whom we have a strong fellow-feeling. Dyslogistic, or down-grading words, on the other hand, are "they" words, used to describe the actions of those from whom we are inclined to separate ourselves. Just as the choice between "we have sinned" and "you have sinned" so often may mark the difference between effective shared effort at reform and the kind of preaching that moves only the preacher, so the subtler choice between "we" words and "they" words can often reveal moral premises of which the speaker himself may be quite unaware.

Are Indians People?

When, for example, a court begins an opinion in an Indian property case by referring to Indians moving from one place to another as *roaming, wandering* or *roving,* we can be pretty sure that it will end up by denying the claimed property rights of the Indians. For these words are words which are commonly applied to buffalo,

wolves and other sub-human animals. They suggest that the relation of an Indian to land is purely a physical relation and not a social one. They are plainly "out-grouping" or "they" words to describe movements which most of us, thinking of ourselves, would describe by means of such words as *traveling, vacationing, commuting,* words that we would not apply to animals, words distinctly human. These latter words connote purpose in movement. Only when we regard a person as strange or perhaps sub-human do we customarily impute aimless motion to him.

Our Point of View

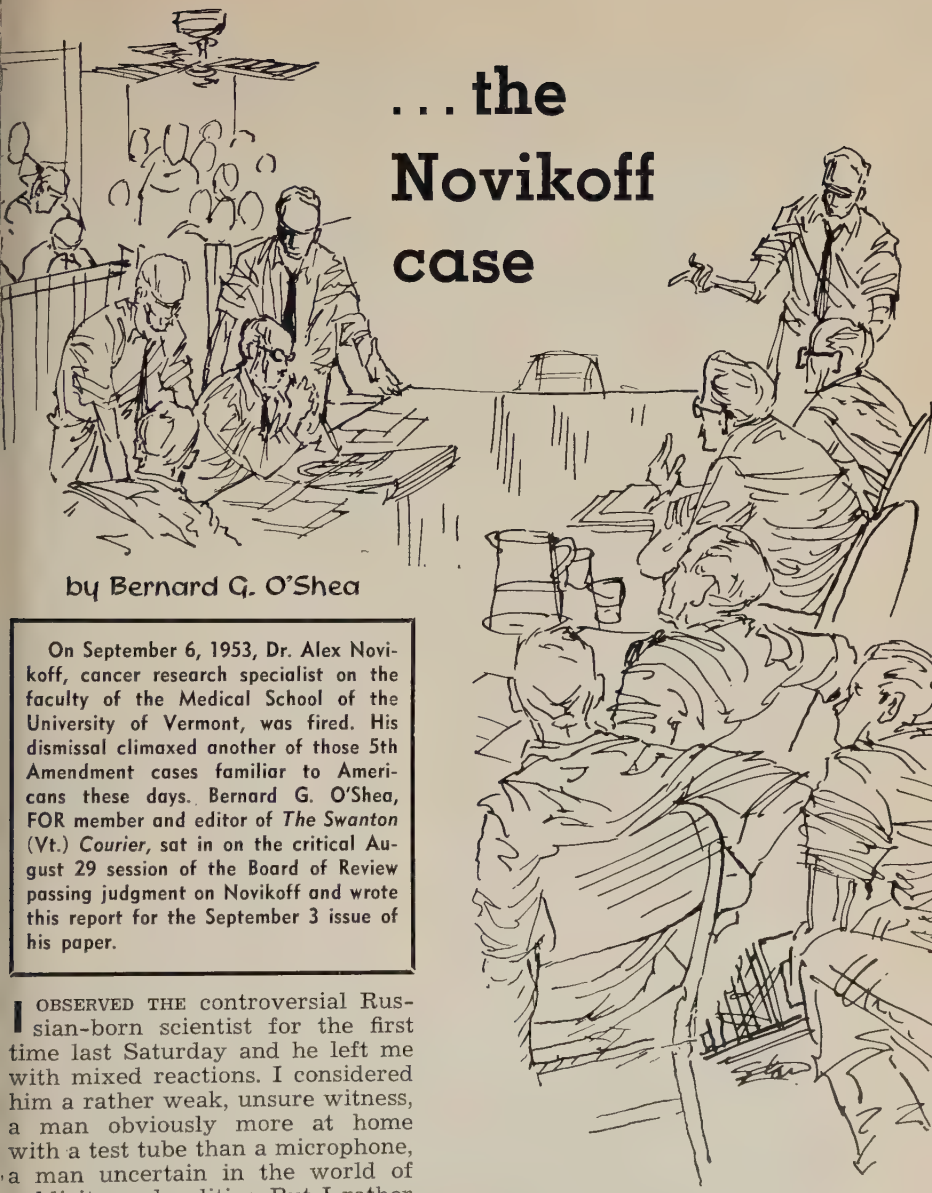
Thus, if I or a friend should move from one place to another, this physical motion would ordinarily either be described in "we" terms or be assimilated into a more highly descriptive term. We may speak of ourselves as transporting merchandise, or surveying, or berry-picking, or selling life insurance, or settling the West, depending on the occasion and purpose of the physical motion. An unfriendly Indian might disregard all these nuances and describe our action in "they" terms as *trespassing* or *invading the Indian country.* And conversely, white judges or white settlers who do not consider Indians quite human will be apt to disregard the purposes and occasions of Indian motion and refer to any traveling Indian as a *nomad,* thereby implicitly justifying the taking of Indian lands and homes by more civilized "settlers."

We may say that each of us is likely to place himself and those to whom he is especially attached closer to the top than to the bottom of our value worlds. This means that "we" words will gen
erally have a higher value direc
tion than "they" words. For ex
ample, when a white judge refer
to a defendant as a Negro, India
or savage, he is using an "out
grouping" line of demarcation tha
separates himself from the de
fendant. On the other hand, a judg
who refers to the same defendan
as a citizen, a taxpayer, a fathe
a husband or a veteran, is using a
"in-grouping" delineation that in
cludes himself and honored friend
Perhaps the most significant effor
of attorneys on opposite sides of
case is the effort to persuade th
judge or the jury or both to thin
of the defendant in "we" or "they
terms. This, however, is not ye
part of what is generally taught i
the law schools of our country
Perhaps it is not yet part of wha
is generally understood in law
schools.

Hope for the Future

The technique of semantic anal
ysis, as I have tried to present
here, will not of itself eliminat
human prejudice. But it may hel
us to uncover the inarticulate valu
premises of ourselves and other
Such understanding may itself lea
to greater tolerance of cultural di
versity. At the same time, it ma
help us to see more clearly th
moral implications of our hu
man egocentric limitations. Havin
achieved such understanding of ou
own limitations and distortions, w
may be in a better position to hel
others to see theirs. To that exten
semantic analysis may help us t
identify and eliminate prejudice
and thus aid us, in the long run
in achieving a greater degree o
tolerance and freedom for our so
ciety.

. . . the Novikoff case



by Bernard G. O'Shea

On September 6, 1953, Dr. Alex Novikoff, cancer research specialist on the faculty of the Medical School of the University of Vermont, was fired. His dismissal climaxed another of those 5th Amendment cases familiar to Americans these days. Bernard G. O'Shea, FOR member and editor of *The Swanton* (Vt.) *Courier*, sat in on the critical August 29 session of the Board of Review passing judgment on Novikoff and wrote this report for the September 3 issue of his paper.

I OBSERVED THE controversial Russian-born scientist for the first time last Saturday and he left me with mixed reactions. I considered him a rather weak, unsure witness, a man obviously more at home with a test tube than a microphone, a man uncertain in the world of publicity and politics. But I rather liked the face behind the goat-rimmed glasses and the balding

head. He looked like he was trying to be brave about it all.

His attorney, Francis Peisch of Burlington, would not let him talk, for the public record, about any of his activities before coming to Vermont in 1948, and not only did this go hard for him with the Review Board, but it also seemed to make him uncomfortable. This was the crucial decision of the whole case.

Refuses to "Come Clean"

On purely legal grounds the idea of neither affirming nor denying past affiliations may have been good advice, but as the hearing progressed, I regretted that Dr. Novikoff would not "come clean," as one Board member put it. I feel now that if he had honestly said, "I was a Communist in 1945 but it was and is no crime to be a Communist. And I have put that aside anyway to do cancer research for you in Vermont"—I think the Board would have respected this and not forced him to be an informer on former colleagues whom he considers innocent (like himself) of doing any wrong to the nation, and might even have voted to keep him on the faculty. He had nothing to lose by taking his plea to the public,[1] and it might have helped to dispel the clouds of doubt about him.

Instead he said: "I am not a Communist and have no connections with the Communist Party." Period. This was not enough for Board members unsure about the values of the 5th Amendment. They were obviously unhappy about the long deliberation over Peisch's insistence that Novikoff's public testimony be confined to the time since 1948, and about the wrangles over the use of tape recordings and the presence of the press. They voted against him "telling all" in private with them because they did not want to take the responsibility for such a hearing. Charles Brown of Brandon hit this sentiment on the nose when he said that if they voted to bar the press they would in fact be subjecting each member of the Board to subpoena before Senator Jenner to tell what Dr. Novikoff refused to tell the Senator. Few like a trip to Washington that well.

The Waterman lounge was too hot for any real debate on this issue and the vote went against Novikoff. But one interesting sidelight was a survey by Bill Burton of the *Bennington-Banner* at this point. The press was so sympathetic with Dr. Novikoff's appeal to stay on that ten of the twelve reporters he asked said they would have voted to make it secret if it would have helped the cancer specialist. Reporters were willing to bar themselves.

Defense Witnesses

The witnesses for Novikoff made a positive impression on many Board members. Dean-Emeritus William Brown of the Medical College and Bishop Vedder Van Dyck were strong in their affirmation of Dr. Novikoff's integrity, loyalty, competence, and their friendship for him. Rabbi Wall said he was proud to have him as a friend, and Dr. William Van Robertson attest

[1] Since writing this, I feel I may have been wrong. It may be that *legally* a public frankness on his part would have sent him spinning to Jenner and his vultures again, this time to be hung on a contempt of Congress charge, and perhaps imprisoned. He was definitely not prepared for prison, and his attorney so arranged it.

ed warmly to his character, praised his great contributions to cancer research, and then drew a long parallel between this case and his observations of German universities in the 1930's. "It is all too easy to throw one man to the wolves as a scapegoat to public clamor and fear," he said. He also implied overtones of anti-Semitism in this case.

To a question from Dr. John Maeck, who asked several about the 5th Amendment, the Bishop answered: "Use the 5th Amendment? Most heartily I would. This whole procedure (in Washington) is a very dangerous one to our freedoms." The witnesses felt Novikoff had very probably been a Communist.

"Moral Turpitude" Charged

But while the defense of Novikoff was ringing, the prosecution was not asleep. Counsel Louis Lisman of the University made no bones about his desire to get rid of the doctor. He painted Brooklyn College and the Teachers Union, old affiliations of Novikoff, in glowing Red. As Vic Maerki of the Free Press put it to this reporter, "He's trying to make Brooklyn into the Kremlin." Several times Peisch called for a ruling by the Board against what he called Lisman's "When-did-you-stop-beating-your-wife" questions. Finally Lisman charged Novikoff with "moral turpitude."

After the daylong hearing I asked Attorney Lisman what precedent he had in calling for "moral turpitude." "None," he answered. It was his idea and he hoped to make it stick with the trustees, he said, so UVM would not have to pay Novikoff the usual yearly terminal salary.

The Dim Past

The low point of the hearing was reached when Edmund Mowrer, trustee of Baintree, Massachusetts, paced up and down the hot room questioning Novikoff at length on dates, times, trains, and people he remembered on his trips to New York and bio-chemistry conferences. If Mowrer was trying to prove any present connections with Communist cells in New York, his stabbing persistency and courtroom style got him nowhere. Novikoff suffered the same foibles of

Editorial Note:

Since this article was prepared, we have had word from O'Shea that Louis Lisman, UVM counsel, has resigned as Vermont representative of the American Civil Liberties Union on the basis of the Union's filing a brief in Novikoff's behalf and that the University is still at a loss as to how to "unload" Novikoff gracefully. The trustees insist that use of the 5th Amendment is not grounds "in and of itself" for dismissal, so they are seeking other, more appropriate wording. O'Shea and some other Vermonters are in the midst of trying to form a committee to help keep Novikoff at his research and "to prepare us in Vermont for any future Congressional invasions."

most persons trying to remember minutia out of the dim past. "The facts may be somewhere in my cranium," said Novikoff to Mowrer, but he indicated that most of his brain he devoted to cancer and science, leaving people and places mostly out of mind.

"Destroying the best . . ."

At the end of the hearing Dean Brown reappeared to deny Lisman's testimony, and to correct what he considered trick questions on the part of the University counsel. He also affirmed he would still hire Novikoff knowing what he knew then about him. "Vermont has always been at the forefront of defense of individualism and civil liberties," he said. "It is Vermont today that is on trial. . . . You will do the cause of anti-Communism great harm by dropping him."

Attorney Peisch summed up with a review of the origins of the 5th Amendment, how it had protected Catholics and then Protestants in past history. He pleaded with UVM not to be hasty "even before the Jenner Committee makes a decision," and without any concrete evidence against the man.

The vote a few hours later, 14-8 against Novikoff, was Peisch's bitter answer.

I would say in conclusion tha the most impressive men on th Board (made up of trustees, fiv members of the faculty Senate an five Medical School representa tives) were Rep. Granai of Barr Father Joyce of Rutland and D Paul Evans, presiding, who seeme to me very fair men, and trustee Chester Eaton and Shepardson. I retrospect no one else stood out ex cept witnesses and counsel.

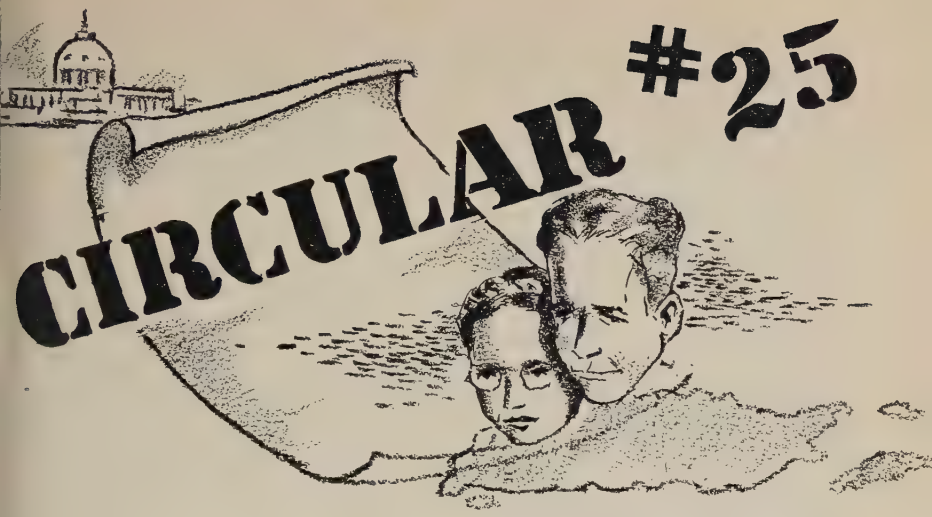
I listened carefully for even shred of evidence to show tha Novikoff and his family had eve behaved to harm anyone any where. I heard none. This was ex amination of a man's mind, h opinions and thoughts, in publ hearing, and philosophically speak ing, I would call the whole proces a degenerating one for all involve

I and most other reporters di not feel comfortable at this hear ing and I am guessing that man members of the Board—no matte what their vote—felt the sam way. This was due to more tha the heat and the humidity. Th discomfort came from the conten of the whole case.

As an officer close to the Univer sity summed up after the session "Both Novikoff and UVM a trapped by this thing and it coul end up destroying the best in bot of us."

I must continue to argue until I convert opponents or own defeat. For my mission is to convert every Indian whether he is a Hindu, Muslim or any other, even Englishmen and finally the world, to nonviolence for regulating mutual relations whether political, economic, social or religious. If I am accused of being too ambitious, I should plead guilty. If I am told that my dream will never materialize, I would answer "that is possible" and go on my way. I am a seasoned soldier of nonviolence and I have evidence enough to sustain my faith. Whether, therefore, I have one comrade or more or none, I must continue. . . .

Mohandas Gandhi



by Collette Schlatter

THIS IS THE STORY of Bob and Lillian Pope and their little girl. It is perhaps more properly Bob's story alone, but when a man loses a position he has held for eight years with a government that is paying him close to $500 a month, it is of some concern to his family.

The Associated Free State of Puerto Rico is a commonwealth of the United States and persons working for its government are conscious of the fact that they are in a service that reflects quickly and unashamedly the events, edicts and attitudes of a government across the sea. There are strings from San Juan to Washington for all to see, but all do not see them alike. To the eyes of some, strings are just strings, to be noticed and taken into account, nothing more, but to the eyes of others they are chains, with all the imperialistic implications that this metaphor can muster up. The Nationalist Party, following Albizu Campos, sees chains. "Liberals," in Puerto Rico as elsewhere, see chains, and thousands of more or less timid, more or less fanatical, aspirants for Puerto Rican independence see chains. Bob Pope, a Christian pacifist, sees chains.

There are times in the lives of conscientious men and women when a testimony of some sort must be made, when from out of the mass a single figure must rise and a single voice be heard, protesting injustice and pricking the social conscience. Even before Circular No. 25 was passed around, Bob Pope had made singular protests against State policy and action. In September of 1951 he came to the aid of a fellow worker being disciplined for handing out Communist literature during office hours. It seemed to him unjust to punish one man for doing something that other men, members of the Popular (U.S.-sponsored) Party, did all the time with official

blessing. Later that same year Bob wrote a letter to the editor of a leading newspaper charging Governor Luis Munoz Marin with imposing his will on the people unless his Constitutional Convention wrote into the Constitution then being framed, a provision for a plebescite. Then there was the time he picketed the drafting of soldiers for the Army.

Sign . . . or Else

These isolated, though consistent, acts provide a background for predicting Bob's reaction to Circular No. 25, distributed to all island government employees December 18, 1952. The gist of the circular was that all government workers had to sign an oath of loyalty to the governments of both Puerto Rico and the United States or lose their jobs. The deadline for swearing allegiance was set for January 31, 1953. By February 1, then, of the year 1953, the Department of Public Works for the Government of the Associated Free State of Puerto Rico was out one hard-working architect, and Robert Pope, Architect III, was out one job.

Although Bob refused to take the required oath, he framed one of his own that he thought should convince the government authorities that he was loyal and conscientious and not of a mind to violently overthrow any government. He sent the oath to the properly designated official on January 7, along with a letter explaining his refusal to take the general pledge. The eight reasons he gave (in the tense in which he gave them): (1) he would not be taking it "of his own free will," as the oath records, since he is threatened with the loss of his job if he refuses; (2) swear ing loyalty to the United State government while employed by th Puerto Rican government woul mean giving his approval to th colonial-imperialistic relation be tween the two governments, whic relation he deplores; (3) he canno swear loyalty to the United State since it establishes and maintai armies; (4) swearing to defend th Constitution of Puerto Rico is to like a vote of confidence in th political party (Popular) that pro moted it; (5) that Constitution it self is not legitimate, since Gover nor Marin conducted the campaig unjustly and undemocratically; (6 he cannot pledge faithfulness to *a* the laws of Puerto Rico since h doesn't know them all; (7) h wants to be able to say he will de fend the laws and Constitutio "nonviolently" as he is a pacifis and (8) he could not promise t perform *all* the duties of his posi tion, since he doesn't have pric full knowledge of those duties an conceivably there might be som he could not fulfill conscientiousl when the occasion arose.

Substitute Oath Refused

The letter and substitute oat were passed on to the Departmen of Justice for its legal opinion. Th opinion rendered was very "offi cial" and to the point that after a the law requires one particula oath and how could another be ac cepted, etc., etc. Dismissal was cer tain.

The Puerto Rican press, as it counterpart everywhere, knows good story when it sees one, and s the Pope "incident" was much i the news. Press reaction, for th most part, was closer to the spir of "too bad Mr. Pope must brin

this upon himself" than "too bad the government is so foolish, or stubborn, or afraid, that it must lose such a fine and essentially loyal worker." One paper did suggest this! Another reported: "As for the chiefs in the Department of Public Works, they say that Mr. Pope is a very efficient and hard-working architect and that they are sorry that *his beliefs prevent him* continuing to work for the government."

In its January 31 issue, the paper *El Imparcial* tried to get to the heart of the dismissal. Its editorial tribute to Bob and to individual reaction against an increasingly repressive state system generally, as well as its sincere attempt to evaluate democracy in practice, make its inclusion here today as important as its startling appearance on the streets of San Juan last January:

"We are in fundamental disagreement with the young architect, but we cannot deny, once all the details of his position are known, that he merits our deep respect. The question of the oath is incidental. A person deeply sincere and of noble spirit has been discovered. The story of a man so humble and honest that for a year he returned to the government the amount of a raise that was made in his salary for the very simple reason that what he was already earning was in his opinion sufficient to live modestly with his family, discloses an exceptional man, immune to the rampant selfishness of our times.

"We are not talking about a subversive fanatic. Nor of an intransigent nihilist. Neither does his position define him as an iconoclast. Perhaps we are dealing with one of the last of Leo Tolstoy's followers, but by being one of the last he turns out to be one of the first to give an example of sacrifice without ostentation, of bigness without show.

"The fact that the exigency for security for the state makes the existence of a citizen of such excellent qualities difficult is explainable, and apparently irremediable, under the narrow rule of the law. But the fact that there is no real danger whatsoever for the public's safety in this case makes an inescapable appeal to our spiritual side. And it leads us to think that at times democracy . . . maintains some narrownesses that are incompatible with its own humane purposes.

"As Mr. Pope said . . . these functional limitations of democracy are taken advantage of by communism for its own dangerous infiltrations. Nevertheless, it seems that these limitations are destined to last for a while longer, in view of the fact that democracy is not yet sufficiently believed in even by us ourselves."

In our society, we take it for granted that we should be strangers to each other—strangers who work together, and "deal" with each other, by the media of authority and money-exchange. We miss, hardly aware of our loss, the qualities of social warmth, of fraternal rivalry and cooperation—we miss these satisfactions and the strength they would give us.

David T. Wieck,
in **Resistance,** August 1953

Preaching Unpopular Truth

by Henry Hitt Crane

WHY PREACH unpopular truth? Why not be adroit, skillful, wise enough to avoid issues that are controversial, disturbing and inevitably provocative of trouble? There are certainly many matters of importance that may be preached about without creating antagonism and dissension. In tragic hours like the present, when compassion, comfort and courage to endure are so essential, why not speak the word that blesses rather than the one that burns? "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God."

Besides there is a war on right now. "We've got a job to do." Is there anything more important than winning the victory for freedom? To talk about loving your enemies, returning good for evil and doing unto others as you would have them do to you may sound pious enough, but when there is so much at stake, isn't it almost subversive to express such sentiments? Won't it weaken morale, slow up production and cause disunity? Granted that war is evil. Whether we will or no, we are all involved. We might as well make the best of it. And what is to be gained by defying the will of the majority, anyhow? We shall only get ourselves soundly disliked, to say the least, and the result will be such loss of influence as will destroy our effectiveness altogether.

I frankly confess that I feel the appeal of this argument. It is all together a legitimate, normal and valuable instinct to desire to be popular. In fact, I believe it is our duty to be popular. For only as we are liked, admired, held in esteem do we have the positive influence over others that we ought to have. For anyone to say he does not care what people think of him is, I think, to mark that person as something of a fool or a liar, or both.

Cost of Popularity

But there are two kinds of popularity: the ephemeral and the permanent—and often one must be sacrificed for the other. Lafcadio Hearn tells a story of an Oriental hero who owned and worked a highly valued rice-field that covered a hill-top overlooking the sea. One day during an earthquake from his high vantage point, he saw the ocean swiftly withdrawing from the familiar shore. It looked like some prodigious animal crouching for a deadly, destructive leap, and he knew that leap

would be the tidal wave. He also saw that his neighbors working in the low fields must be speedily gathered to his hill or be swept away. Without second thought, he set fire to his cherished rice-ricks and then furiously rang the temple bell. His neighbors thought his farm on fire and rushed to help him, only to discover that he had deliberately started the blaze himself. They were very angry and berated him roundly, saying that he was insane thus to jeopardize the common possessions of the community. But he only smiled and pointed to the sea. From that safe hill, they saw the swirl of waters over fields just forsaken—and knew the cost of their salvation. Then they realized the worth of him who risked their ready wrath to gain their everlasting gratitude.

Realistic Words Needed

Contrast with that the willingness to remain silent of those who claim the right to live on the lofty hills of God whence, if they will but look, they can behold the sea of sane human relationships withdraw from its accustomed shores in the menacing crouch of war. Yet they give no realistic word of warning lest they jeopardize their present popularity—and prized possessions.

Why preach unpopular truth? Because when life is organized on assumptions that are utterly at variance with the abiding principles propounded by One Who had the long look, principles that are as enduring as the laws of the universe, nothing is more superlatively imperative than that those truths of the living God be proclaimed. To utter smooth and comforting sentiments when the tidal wave of global war is upon us, instead of challenging those who live in the low valleys of their immediate concern to climb the heights of sacrificial good will, is to forget and to forfeit the prime prerogative of the preacher's confession.

"For My Sake"

As one of our modern prophets declared: "There are only two possible adjustments in life; one is to suit our life to the principles of Christ, the other is to suit His principles to our life. In other words, one must either live as one believes, or believe as one lives. In the face of the modern mood so grimly geared to the war philosophy the preacher must decide for himself whether he will come down from the cross-crowned hill in response to that mood, or whether he will remain there like Christ and draw the whole world to Christ's way. He must definitely decide whether he is going to try to make Christianity fit man, or whether he is going to try to make men fit Christianity."

Surely Christ's principles must outlast the passions of men, and he who proclaims them in season and out may suffer sinister consequences, as did his Master, but he will "get away with it" in the long run, as the compromisers, the casuists and the experts in expediency never do. "Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you."

But popular or unpopular, what is truth? How can we be sure that what we preach is truth? For the

preacher this cannot be a mere academic question; it is essentially a moral decision. The truth we preach is not simply a philosophy; it is a Person. It is not an abstraction; it is an Incarnation. It is not a lot of words; it is the Word made flesh. It is not a theory; it is Christ. As the mighty preacher Paul declared: "The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified."

The clever attempt to escape the necessity of championing the Truth by raising petty, pedantic problems is as old as Pilate's "What is Truth?"—the equivalent of which, doubtless, has been reiterated by every coward who has been confronted with the deadly serious dilemma of what to do with Christ when, in one way or another, He inevitably challenges Caesar and his mighty Empire. Imagine, though, the appalling ineptitude of the question: Here was Pilate face to face with the fullest vision of the Truth he could ever again hope to see—not abstract, general, vague; but Truth Incarnate, visible, tangible, capable of being championed, followed, obeyed—and he does not, or he will not let himself recognize it. It was as though one were to stand in the full glory of the unclouded sun and ask, "What is Light?" Small wonder Christ was silent. He understood what Pilate was trying to do. He was trying to avoid the unpleasant necessity of doing his duty lest it jeopardize his alliance with Caesar. He wanted to wash his hands of the whole matter—because kowtowing to Caesar was much more practical, popular, pleasant and well-paying than championing Christ. But raising academic questions and much washing of hands will not do. The results are too terrible. "We crucify the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame."

When shall we preach Christ—His Way, His Truth, His Life, His Death and Resurrection? Obviously the unequivocal answer is now. It cannot be postponed to some future date when the times are more propitious, the situation more safe. The assumption that the teaching of Jesus, the application of His principles and the acceptance of His way of life was not intended for immediate adoption, seems to me to be preposterous. This doctrine of the time-lag is heresy of the wickedest sort. Where in the Gospel is there the slightest justification for any delayed-action discipleship? Jesus' most characteristic demand was for immediate and complete obedience. No excuses were acceptable—not even the urgent need of looking after newly-purchased property, expiring parents, or a newly-wed wife. The Gospel of the Kingdom is not only an ideal, but a method of at-

taining that ideal. The very fact that Jesus insisted upon unhesitating experimentation in the use of His method was what made His teaching unpopular. As long as He merely quoted the prophets and talked about the coming of the Kingdom, no one objected to His message. It was when He declared that the long looked-for day had arrived; that the future had become the "now"; that the perennially postponed "some day" had become "today"—that his popularity waned with a vengeance and murder was planned. For every preacher, as for every sinner, the only time there is is NOW.

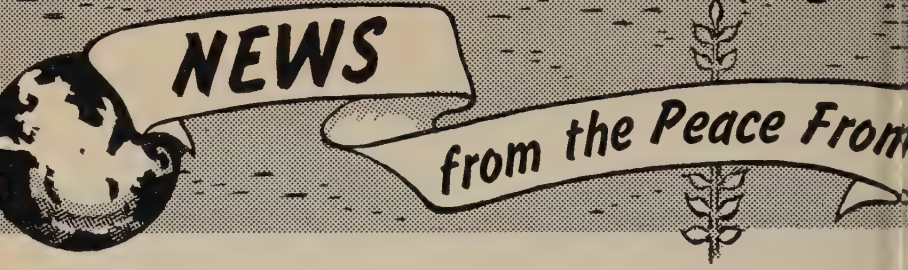
We now come to the most important question of all, namely, how preach unpopular truth and "get away with it." Frankly, I do not know. What servant is better than his Lord? The Master alienated the crowd, antagonized the ignorant and the wicked, irritated the intelligentsia and the influential—and at thirty-three He was crucified by the combined cruelty of all. It is by no means a minister's prime concern, therefore, whether he can "get away with it" or not. His major fear should always be lest he get away *from* such preaching. For the Gospel must be preached "quand meme" —in spite of everything—and with such fearlessness that what happens to the preacher himself as a result is a matter of very secondary importance. People may be hostile when the preaching is so true that it is unendurable to those who live with lies; in which event the ancient road to some form of crucifixion simply has to be taken.

The Danger That Peace May Break Out

The difficulty, to my mind, lies in the fact that advanced and highly productive economies have so far found no means of securing full employment except by building war machines. They are the modern "pyramids." It is patent that if tomorrow morning the Soviets announced that they were withdrawing all influence from satellite countries, and urging their governments to throw the countries wide open to internal political contests and external entrance; if, further, the U.S.S.R. announced that it intended totally to disarm, and invited delegations from every U.N. state to visit them and see the scrapping process—there would be an economic crisis of unexampled magnitude in this country. The most cosmic joke would be a nation standing rigid in armor that it did not know how to remove, with no place to go!

I think the argument would work both ways. Imagine the embarrassment of the U.S.S.R. if they suddenly found themselves without a formidable enemy! How could a theology like the Communist, based on the notion of unremitting struggle, survive?

Dorothy Thompson,
in a personal letter



"Second Detroit" Will Feature Nolde and Trocmé

The forthcoming Conference on the Church and Peace, to be held December 7-10 at Henry Hitt Crane's church in Detroit, will be addressed by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde of the World Council of Churches and by Pastor André Trocmé of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Some 500 delegates from the 16 pacifist groups that make up the Church Peace Mission that is sponsoring the conference will attend this "second Detroit." (The "first Detroit" was held in May of 1950 and led to the formation of the Mission.) However, attendance is not limited to those who hold the pacifist position, and it is anticipated that many non-pacifist Christians concerned about the problems that the conference will consider, will be present.

An investigation of the basis of Christian pacifism will be the major work of the conference. Introductory to this will be a discussion of our contemporary world, its problems and challenges, based primarily on a keynote address, "The Christian in the Contemporary World," delivered by André Trocmé the evening of Monday, December 7. Mr. Trocmé, a pastor in the French Reformed Church, is the European Secretary of the IFOR and director of its center a Versailles. His appearance at De troit will bring to a close his sev eral-months' speaking tour in thi country.

On the evening of the 8th, D O. Frederick Nolde, Director of th Commission on the Churches o International Affairs, World Coun cil of Churches, and Dean of th Graduate School of the Luthera Theological Seminary, will addres the conference on "The Christia Church Faces the Problems of Wa and Communism." This talk open discussion of the central theme c the conference, the basis of Chris tian pacifism. Section meetings th next day will be devoted to issue involved in the Christian pacifis position and will cover, amon others: the scriptural basis of paci fism; the theological basis; a Chris tian philosophy of history; the na ture and mission of the Church the relations of Church, Societ and State, with emphasis on th problems of power and author ity; Christianity and Communism Christianity and mass destructio weapons; and the outlook fo Christian pacifism.

How to present the pacifist posi tion to the "wider parish"—loca churches and communities, cam puses, the Church in its denomina

tional, and national and world councils—will be the subject of interest groups meeting Wednesday evening. This phase of the conference is considered strategically urgent in the light of the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches coming up in August of 1954. Other groups will consider local evangelistic action, the problems of CO's, utilization of press and audio-visual facilities, and the pacifist family.

Among those who will lead the various discussion groups in either the political or the theological phase of the conference will be: *E. Raymond Wilson,* Friends Committee on National Legislation; *C. Franklin Koch,* Executive Secretary of the Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America; *Mulford Sibley,* the Political Science Department of the University of Minnesota; *A. J. Muste,* Secretary Emeritus of the FOR; *Donovan Smucker,* Mennonite Theological Seminary; *Henry Hitt Crane,* pastor, Central Methodist Church, Detroit; *Rev. Phillips P. Elliott,* pastor, First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn; and *Woodbridge Johnson,* Professor of Philosophy, Park College, Missouri.

Each peace group or church pacifist fellowship represented in the Church Peace Mission will have a minimum quota of delegates. The FOR quota is 35. Persons wishing to attend should get in touch with their denominational peace fellowship, unless not denominationally affiliated, in which case they should write to the FOR. Questions about registering will be answered by the Conference Executive, George M. Houser, 513 W. 166th Street, New York 32, New York.

IFOR Against Partisan Peace Gatherings

At its July 26-30 meeting at Dortmund, Germany, the IFOR Council resolved to boycott peace gatherings that are obviously controlled by partisan interests of either the East or the West power bloc. It recommended that a committee on East-West relations be established to look into certain Council proposals.

One of these proposals concerns a mission to several communist countries, as well as conferences with East-West church leaders. Another wonders whether the Council should have specific recommendations on such matters of open international discussion as the seating of Red China in the United Nations and the ending of visa restrictions.

The IFOR went on record as deeming it "unwise" for itself or its constituent fellowships to send delegates or accredited observers to partisan political peace gatherings "organized, financed and essentially controlled by elements committed to advancing the foreign policy and military cause of one or the other of the conflicting powers." On the other hand, not wanting to control the consciences of its members, it said it would follow "with prayer" those of its members who felt called to attend such gatherings.

It was proposed that a form letter be drafted that would point out why Fellowship people cannot participate in partisan peace programs. The letter would be used as a reply to invitations to attend such congresses and would include, positively, a willingness to meet for "free and brotherly exchange" under more informal circumstances.

Nonviolence Characterizes East Germany Uprising

A. J. Muste has just issued a report on the June 16-17 East Germany revolt that is worthy of abridged publication:

"Everyone who has reported on the uprising in East Berlin and other cities in East Germany on June 16-17 and the days following has noted the very small amount of violence which characterized the revolt. The testimony is unanimous that on June 16, when the spontaneous protest really began, there was not the slightest violence on the part of the resisters to Communist rule. There are those who contend that such violence as occurred on the 17th and succeeding days was solely perpetrated by irresponsible gangs of East Berlin youth or by elements from West Germany sent in for the purpose of whipping up a large scale anti-Communist revolt. . . .

"The most striking testimony to the efficacy of nonviolence and the extent to which a pacifist spirit or mood characterized the East Germans . . . appeared in a recent issue of the *New Leader,* by no means a pacifist organ! The article to which I refer was written by Norbert Muhlen 'in Berlin after an on-the-spot investigation involving scores of interviews and conversations with participants.'

". . . The uprising, Muhlen declares, 'was nonviolent, peaceful, unconscious of its own nature.' When some of the rebels quietly installed themselves in a post office or radio station they drafted 'a letter to the East German Government, urging it to resign, and another letter to the Soviet Commandant, asking him to support them. These letters were dispatched with prepaid reply envelopes!'

"Where the demonstrators too over police stations and State Se curity posts, 'in each and even case they abstained from using th weapons of the disarmed men; th weapons were carefully locke away.' Muhlen observes that th *leitmotiv* of the strikers wa 'Above all we must avoid bloo shed.'

"Furthermore, the rebels had reason for their 'pacifism,' as Muh len openly names it. They were 's deeply repelled by the totalitaria methods of violence and brutalit that, as they put it, they did no want a Bolshevik Revolution. The wanted to be better than the enemy even while they tried t overthrow his rule—therefore, the wanted a "decent revolution," revolution without killing, lootin violence.'

"Most remarkable of all, in m opinion, is Muhlen's testimony tha even after Russian tanks rumble into the strike meetings and *bega firing,* the demonstrators did no abandon their pacifism. 'Bread in stead of barracks' and 'We don need a People's Army' actually be came popular slogans at that junc ture.

"To learn of such a developmen in East Germany after reading th disheartening report of the We German election, which indicate that anti-rearmament was ver much a minority position there revives one's hope. May it be tha 'salvation' is to come from behin the Iron Curtain, that the baptis of horror to which the peoples i these lands have been exposed wi make them the preachers and prac titioners of the 'decent revolution since they are no longer tempte to believe that bread and barrack go together and that a self-respect

ing and free people must, of course, have a 'People's Army'?"

Wisconsinite Presents Case Against Loyalty Oaths

Francis D. Hole of Madison, Wisconsin, has recently written a letter to the editor which A. J. Muste considers "the best brief statement on the subject of loyalty oaths that I have yet seen." The letter, sent to both *The Capitol Times* and *The State Journal* but published only in the latter, protested bill 172-A passed by the lower house of Wisconsin's legislature.

Bill 172-A provides for the cancellation of contracts of public employees and of private contractors working on public jobs who refuse to denounce communism "unequivocally" by taking an oath of allegiance to the government. Although the bill was later killed by Senate committee action, and hence has not been written into Wisconsin law, Hole thinks it would surely have passed, once it got on the Senate floor, "not from support but from fear to oppose it."

Introducing his protest with the observation that "loyalty oaths are required repeatedly under totalitarian regimes, but we in a democracy know that loyalty cannot be forced by massed registrations," Hole proceeds to list these specific criticisms: (1) "If we agree to sign with regard to communism today, we may be asked to sign about religion tomorrow"; (2) oaths are unnecessary because conspirators are so few that they can be handled by police and court procedure; (3) oaths do not purify the government, for they don't catch incompetents, frauds and members of such destructive groups as Ku Klux Klan; (4) since loyalty oaths disregard tenure rights and carry a penalty of loss of employment if not signed, many people take them not out of loyalty so much as out of fear of criticism and loss of employment; (5) the oaths assume that opinions and thoughts are punishable crimes, which is against our whole tradition of freedom of thought; (6) finally, oaths assume that conspirators cannot be converted to the principles of democracy, but, concludes Hole, "the principles of a maturing democracy are so good that we can confidently expect to meet the arguments and attitudes of conspirators with better arguments and a nobler spirit."

1953-54 Seminars for Youth Launched

The American Friends Service Committee will begin its seventh year of seminars for high school students in Washington, D. C. and at the U.N. with a seminar on NATO—UN—WORLD GOVERNMENT in Washington, November 18-21. The schedule of other seminars to be held in the Capitol City is as follows: "Human Rights"—December 9-15; "South Africa"—January 6-9; "Disarmament and UMT"—January 20-23; "Survival in a World of Conflicting Ideas"—February 10-13; "Middle and Far East"—March 10-13; "Free Minds"—March 24-27.

Seminars on the United Nations will include: "Technical Assistance"—November 4-7; "UN, Its Charter and World Government"—April 21-24; "Toward Freedom and Security Through UN"—May 19-22. Further information is available from Spahr Hull, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Socialist CO, Refusing Draft Call, Arrested

Vern Davidson, until October of last year the National Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League, was arrested July 16 for draft refusal. Because the 24-year-old Venice, California, youth is a humanitarian and political objector to war, rather than a religious objector, his request for exemption from military service as a CO had been denied and he had been called into service on October 14, 1952.

At present free on $2,500 bail raised by members of the FOR and the Socialist Party in the Los Angeles area, Davidson is the first Socialist leader in recent years to be arrested on so serious a charge. He faces a possible 5 years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

When his trial comes up, his defense will rest on two major points of law: (1) the draft law is unconstitutional because it discriminates against those who do not believe in a Supreme Being, and by such action violates the concept of separation of Church and State; (2) Davidson had been denied a CO classification on the basis of FBI material he has had no opportunity to examine. Although the Supreme Court has ruled in the cases of Nugent and Packer that the FBI records do not need to be surrendered *as long as the summary is fair,* the defense will contend that there is no way to tell if the summary is fair if the full records are not available.

At the government's request, the first trial date of August 16 was pushed ahead to September 22; now that date has been set aside in favor of a late October date. Because the postponements have been at the request of the U. S. Attorney, the Los Angeles area bulleti on CO's feels that "national polic may be in the making."

Deportation hearings agains *Vasyl Sereda* were terminated Au gust 14 by order of the Board c Immigration Appeals. The Appe Board reversed the ruling of th Inquiry Officer who charged tha Sereda committed a crime c "moral turpitude" when he refuse to report for induction. Sereda is CO serving a 3½ year sentence i the Federal Reformatory at Peters burg, Virginia. His limited knowl edge of English (he is a DP fro the Ukraine) and complete lack o understanding about the draft law resulted in his prosecution.

Sentenced recently for failing t report for induction: *Ervie Daniel* of Fergus Falls, Minnesota, 2 years and *Vern Dawson* of Sacramento Calif., 1½ years.

Arrested recently for the sam reason: *Edward Nichols, Nic Klubniken, Richard Reardon* an *Eugene Breault* of California; *Ro land Wrightsman* and *Manna Kuhn* of Indiana; *Lowell Youman* Massachusetts; *Harvey Edwards* New York; and *Ray Brewer,* North Carolina.

Alien objectors who take the po sition for other than religious rea sons are barred from citizenship according to rulings of the Decem ber 24, 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (known as the second McCarran Act).

Correction

We apologize for erroneously locating Dr. Culbert G. Rutenber at the California Baptist Seminary for the current teaching year. He remains at Eastern in Philadelphia, "teaching and doing whatever side activities can be squeezed in."

Quaker Approaches

The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Problems, edited by John Kavanaugh. Putnam, 1953. 254 pp., $4.

Any book containing chapters by Cadbury, Boulding, Brinton, Freeman, Trueblood and Pickett—to mention just a few—commands attention. When each of these deals with "the Quaker approach," the result is interesting indeed. For most of the authors involved in this symposium usually speak and write not as Quakers, but as scholars or experts in particular fields. To find them here adopting a mild and only rarely complacent partisanship is refreshing: this, we gather, is where they live, and the source of their attitudes and enthusiasms.

To be sure, the title might more accurately be "Quaker approaches," for even after reading the volume, we are left with the question as to whether any real unity is reflected. Since the Quaker tradition has resisted formulation of a creed, or even of a theology, and since the profound insight of the Inner Light can be (and has been) broadened out to include the vaguest do-good humanitarianism in many Quaker individuals and programs, general claims are difficult. Yet the note sounds again and again in the book, that "so few have done so much"—a true claim, that from essentially sectarian Christian insights have flowed projects and human results which are the very reverse of sectarian. From this angle, it is significant that "contemporary problems" here do not include the ecumenical situation among Christians, the conventionalizing of church life in America and elsewhere, the need for evangelism, or even the knitting of some agreed basis for thought and action in the Society of Friends itself. These are problems which even at its 300th anniversary, the Society tends to keep in the background.

In areas with which the volume does deal, particularly able and rewarding analyses and summaries are given. As a statement of the actual emphases of Quakers, particularly in the American Friends Service Committee, the compend is of lasting importance. Henry Cadbury's dealing with the peace testimony as not a matter of strategy or political analysis but one of spiritual assertion and individual refusal, rounds out what is perhaps the most thoughtful brief account of Quaker pacifism available for our day.

Other chapters describe Quaker relief activities, economic procedures dating back to prophetic 18th century Quaker experiments, Friends' efforts to curb predatory business practices, their educational aims in school and college,

racial and civil liberties programs, prison reform ideals, faith-and-health insights, their approaches to secular philosophies and to East-West friction. Even in areas where other Christian groups have made great strides, the concern here is to demonstrate the particular contribution made by the comparatively small group of Friends.

The impression given by the whole book is that Quakers have served as the experimenters, pioneers, and "unconventional Christians" on the margins of the main institutional stream of the Church or churches. One concludes that the vital and glorious contribution of Quakerism in these three centuries has been a complementary one, alongside the more orthodox Christian bodies. It is a growing-edge of Protestantism which is dependent upon the main life of the institutional churches for its own continuing life, but which explores and enlarges and continually prompts into prophetic action the great majority life of Christendom.

—John Oliver Nelson

Soberly Convincing

Preaching on Controversial Issues, by Harold A. Bosley. Harper Brothers, 1953. 221 pp., $3.

"I have little sympathy for the so-called 'swing away from the social gospel' which . . . is a swing away from the forthright facing in religious terms of the vital concerns of our life and time and, strictly speaking, must be regarded as an unwitting and unintentional demonstration of the irrelevance of religion."

This book shows Dr. Bosley, Methodist pastor in Evanston, Illinois, forthrightly demonstrating both the how and what of relevant controversial sermons. Although admittedly starts out as "shop talk" for ministers, the solid volume swiftly lays method aside and presents eighteen sermons preached in Dr. Bosley's church on war, communism, the power of Roman Catholicism, drinking, political leadership, and other specific issues.

Not always brilliant nor arresting, each sermon is deeply in earnest, soberly convincing, and fearless—the sort of combination an Christian pacifist minister may well covet, and any dedicated lay man hope for as he seeks leadership among social issues.

—John Oliver Nelson

A Shocking Parallel

You, the Jury, by Mary Borden Longmans, 1952. Cloth, 346 pp., $3

What would happen if Christ were to be reincarnated in our present society—or, to be more precise, if an individual were to appear in our society living by the same rules, performing the same acts, making the same claims, as Jesus did two millennia ago?

It is a notable theme, and one that has provided endless grist for the mills of novelists and preachers. Mary Borden has worked on it more subtly and skilfully than most and has produced a novel that is in some ways richly satisfying.

You, the Jury—not too happy a title—is the story of Martin Merriedew, village doctor in England who becomes reformer, prophet and conscientious objector, and who winds up in the prisoner's dock charged with treason. It is told by Lady Barbara Patche,

childhood friend of Martin's sister of his first and most ardent disciple, and wife of the judge who was to preside at his trial.

This choice of a narrator is the key to both the success and the failure of the book. Lady Barbara's attempts to explain a man she does not herself understand, and the uneasiness that pricks her during and after the trial as she stops just short of allowing herself to measure her own life and values by Martin's—these provide depths of insight that are valuable.

The trouble is that we see Martin too exclusively through Lady Barbara's hostility, and he never really becomes alive for the reader with the warmth of adoration that shines briefly through the testimony of a reformed prostitute who is among the few who remain loyal to the end. And this is true of the other characters in the book. There are too many gaps, too much of importance seen through the eyes of a hostile, if troubled witness who has few opportunities in any case to make direct contact with the central character.

Yet there is much remaining in the skill with which the author has translated the pattern of Jesus' life into a contemporary life. Here is a young man who heals the sick by unorthodox methods and has his right to practice revoked by the British Medical Association, who devotes his life to prayer and good works and is attacked by the Church, who seeks to relieve suffering wherever he goes and is chased out of town by a rioting mob, who speaks out passionately against war and is charged with treason.

Such a parallel might be constructed by a less skilful novelist and be no more than that. What is impressive about *You, the Jury* is that these things, even to the betrayal of a disciple, grow naturally and inevitably out of the actions of Martin and the reactions of those against whom he rubs. The parallel at length strikes the reader almost with a sense of shock, and Martin's sufferings illume Jesus' life, rather than the reverse.

Nor does anyone ever point to the parallel. This is perhaps the great point of the story, that among all these good people, professing Christians all their lives, a man could walk as Christ did and elicit only scorn and hostility and amusement. The nearest anyone comes to hinting what this is all about is a poor little vicar who stammers embarrassedly at the trial that the prisoner was the most Christlike man

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he had ever known, and when he had said it "titters scampered like rollicking mice through the gallery."

You, the Jury is a book worth reading and pondering. For all Christians, and pacifists particularly, it carries a profound and troubling message.—A. H.

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If you've read and completely digested (not literally, of course) your July and September issues of FELLOWSHIP, won't you send them along? We're out of both, and honestly, it's a "revolting development."

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